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The open enrollment policy of the New York City Board of Education might reverse some of the damaging influences of school segregation on pupil self-concept either by contradicting the stereotyped association of racial segregation and social inferiority or by affording "culturally deprived" Negro children access to superior educational facilities.

At the beginning and end of a school year of ethnic and racial integration, a short questionnaire was administrered to pupils to discover possible changes in pupil self-concept. The Puerto Rican children were found to be handicapped by language considerations, and the Negro children, by "cultural deprivation," relative to white, non-Puerto Ricans. Teachers' achievement ratings of students reflected cultural and ethnic background. All three groups were more expressive in their responses when in a minority. White children had higher occupational horizons than Negroes, and Negroes higher than Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Rican children lowered their occupational horizons during the course of the year. No sharp differences in self-likes and dislikes were found among the three groups. At the beginning and end of the year the pupils liked teachers and disliked other pupils. Teachers gave more objective ratings to students on the basis of achievement than on conduct or effort. Minority and majority classroom status had an effect on pupils' conduct, achievement and effort, according to teachers' evaluations.

Another study of the likes and dislikes of children in an integrated school reported similar findings, particularly in relation to minority status in the classroom.

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SOME SELF-PERCEPTIONS AND TEACHER EVALUATIONS OF PUERTO RICAN, NEGRO AND WHITE PUPILS IN 4th, 5th and 6th GRADES (P. S. 198 M)

Research Report No. 12

Harold Goldblatt Cyril Tyson

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CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
OF NEW YORK

October 1962

Introduction

Agreement is general among social scientists that racial segregation has damaging effects upon the personality of school children, both white and non-white.[1] This agreement, however, "is actually based not on specific studies of Negroes and whites, but on a theory of personality and on a quite diverse, though logically related, empirical work."[1] The open-enrollment policy of the New York City Board of Education might conceivably reverse some of the damaging influences of school segregation on the pupil's concept of himself. It might do so either by contradicting the stereotyped association of racial segregation and social inferiority or by affording "culturally deprived" Negro children access to superior educational facilities in hitherto white schools, or both.

Data and Methods

The present exploratory research was undertaken to learn whether possible changes in pupil self-concepts would show up in an analysis of short questionnaires completed by the pupils at the beginning and again at the end of a school year of ethnic and racial integration.

1/ Philip Selznick, "The Sociology of Law," Sociology Today, Problems and Prospects, Ed. Merton, Broom and Cottrell, N.Y. Basic Books, Inc., 1959, P. 122

Public School 198 is a sixth-grade elementary school located at Third Avenue and 96th Street, Manhattan. It is attended by Puerto Rican and Negro boys and girls from East Harlem and by white children, some transferred from Public School 6, and some from Public School 86. P.S. 6 and P.S. 86 were then all white schools. Classes had been in session for about three weeks when the fourth, fifth and sixth grade children filled out their first questionnaire in October, 1960. They answered the second questionnaire late in June of 1961. On both occasions, the questionnaire was administered by the classroom teacher, as much as possible as an ordinary lesson assignment in English composition rather than in the context of a test which might require of them "right" answers and arouse anxieties lest their answers be "wrong."

The October questionnaire consisted of the following five questions:

1. What would you like to be when you grow up?
2. What do you like the best about yourself?
3. What do you like the least about yourself?
4. What do you like the best about this school?
5. What do you like the least about this school?

The June questionnaire to the fourth and sixth grades asked in addition, "What does your father do for a living?" The second or June questionnaire to the fifth grade was an alternate version consisting of the following questions:

1. What would you like to be when you w up?

2. What does your father do for a liv g?

3. If you could have anythi ou wanted for your birthday, what would u like to have?

4. Of all the things you like about yourself, what is the one thing you like the very best? Why?

5. Of all the things you dislike about yourself, what is the one thing you dislike the most? Why?

6. Do you think you will go to college?

II

The Ethnic Composition of the School

The October 1960 questionnaire was completed by 459 children, 85 of whom were not present on the day in June when the second questionnaire was administered. The June 1961 questionnaire was completed by 449 children of whom 75 were not present the previous October. This amounts to a turnover in school population of 30%. As this turnover affected all ethnic groups equally, the ethnic composition of three upper grades was fairly stable. 1/ Both at the beginning and at the end of the school year roughly half the children in the upper grades were Puerto Rican and about a third were Negro. (Table 1)

1/ The percentages who completed both questionnaires were 68% of the total Puerto Rican children present at either date, 74% of the Negroes and 68% of the white

Table 1

Ethnic Composition of the Upper Three Grades at the Beginning and End of the School Year

	October, 1960	June, 1961
Puerto Rican	54%	53%
Negro	31	30
Oriental	1	1
White, non-Puerto Rican	14	16
	(459)	(449)

Correlative with these ethnic differences were differences in social origin. Table 2 shows the occupations of the fathers according to their ethnic affiliation. As one would expect, the Puerto Rican fathers were less often

Table 2

Father's Occupation by Ethnic Affiliation

Father's Occupation	Puerto Rican	Negro	White	Negro
Professional, Technical, Managerial Entrepreneurial	4%	8%	22%	(1)
White Collar	5	6	8	(0)
Skilled Semi-Skilled Unskilled	59	70	50	(4)
Father not at home or not employed	14	11	6	(0)
Father employed, occupation unknown	18	5	14	(1)
Total	(183)	(106)	(63)	(6)

employed at professional or white collar occupations than the Negro fathers and they less often than the white, non-Puerto Rican fathers.

Both ethnic and social differences may affect children's relative competence as pupils. In the present instance we should, of course, expect the Puerto Rican children to have been handicapped by language considerations, and the Negro children by their "cultural deprivation" relative to the white non-Puerto Ricans. That this is apparently the case here, too, is indicated by Tables 3, 4 and 5. Tables 3 and 4 both correlate ethnic affiliation and pupil competence. Table 3 classifies pupils according to the number of different mistakes they made in October in answer to Question One. To obtain this table the variety of technical mistakes was

Table 3

Ethnic Affiliation and Number of Different Mistakes on Question One.

Number of Different Mistakes	Puerto Rican	Negro	White non-Puerto Rican
None	13%	22%	27%
One	33	33	41
Two or more	54	45	32
	(214)	(131)	(60)

counted in pupil answers to the question, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" This variety included

possible errors in legibility, spelling, sentence construction, punctuation, capitalization and grammatical use of tense. The number of errors a child might make would vary, therefore, from zero to six, for mistakes of the same type were counted only once. According to Table 3, 54% of the Puerto Rican children made at least two different types of errors compared with 45% of the Negro and 32% of the white non-Puerto Rican pupils.

Table 4

Ethnic Affiliation and
Pupil Rating in Achievement

Pupil Rating in Achievement	Puerto Rican	Negro	White non-Puerto Rican
Highest Third	29%	31%	45%
Middle "	41%	34	34
Lowest "	30	35	21
Total	240	132	71

At the end of the school year the teachers were asked to place each pupil in the top, middle, or bottom third of the class with respect to effort, conduct, and achievement. Table 4 shows the tendency for the teachers to rate the white non-Puerto Rican pupils in the top third of their classes more often than the Negro or Puerto Rican children.

Table 5

Father's Occupation and
Pupil's Rating in Achievement

Pupil Rating in Achievement	Professional White Collar	Manual Worker	"Broken Home"
Highest Third	44%	35%	26%
Middle Third	34	37	38
Lowest Third	22	28	36
Total	(50)	(217)	(42)

As expected, the cultural level of the child's background also influenced the pupil's achievement rating. Teachers somewhat more often rated children from professional or white collar backgrounds top-third in achievement (44%) than they did those whose fathers were manual workers (35%) or who came from homes "broken" by the absence of the father (26%). (Table 5)

III

Social Composition of the Classroom

It is common educational practice to assign children to classes on the basis of scholastic ability. Partly because differences in pupil competence are, as we have shown, correlative with ethnic affiliation and social origin, (partly) due to other factors such as the preponderance of fifth graders among the white children) the classrooms were not identical in social composition. In this school, "integration" means, in effect, that Negro and white children are

usually a minority among a Puerto Rican Majority. Though constituting a majority of the three upper grades, as a whole, Puerto Rican pupils were an actual majority in only 11 of 17 classrooms. Negro and white non-Puerto Rican children were in the majority in one classroom each. (Table 6) From the point of view of the pupils, then, the opportunity and necessity for "integration" in the social-psychological sense might well have varied from classroom to classroom. The two principles of assignment to classes, integration and

Table 6

Ethnic Affiliation and Classroom Composition

Ethnic Composition of Classroom	Puerto Rican	Negro	White non Puerto Rican	Oriental
	Number of Classes			
50% or more	11	1	1	0
25-49	3	11	4	0
1-24	3	5	9	4
0	0	0	3	13

scholastic grading, tend to work at cross purposes. Our data appear to indicate that the school accommodated itself to desegregation by selecting the abler minority-group children and the less able majority group children for classroom integration. The minority group children who were scholastically

less competent apparently tended to concentration in classes where they were a "classroom majority." The abler white non-Puerto Rican children also apparently tended to concentration in classrooms where they were a majority or plurality.

One type of evidence for this inference is in the differences in "expressiveness" of the children according to whether or not they were members of the "classroom minority." It is assumed that children who wrote much in response to the essay questions about their self and school likes and dislikes were, on the average, better pupils than those who wrote but little.

Classroom Composition and Expressiveness

In Table 7, the percentages of children who were the more expressive of those in their class (two or more replies to each essay question asked in October 1960) are given according to their ethnic affiliation and classroom status.

Table 7 */

Ethnic Affiliation, Classroom Status and Proportion Who Gave Two or more Replies to Each of Four Essay Questions

Proportion who Mentioned at Least Two	Puerto Rican		Negroes		Whites, not P.R.	
	Classroom Minority	Classroom Majority	Classroom Minority	Classroom Majority	Classroom Minority	Classroom Majority
Self-likes 1/	51	32	44	0	62	58
Self-dislikes	30	13	20	0	20	35
School-likes	65	51	46	13	63	74
School-dislikes	19	10	10	0	11	35

The Puerto Rican children who were a minority in their class more often gave at least two answers to each of the four questions than those who were in the majority in their

*/ The case load for this table is as follows:

	Puerto Rican		Negro		White not P.R.	
	Min.	Maj.	Min.	Maj.	Min.	Maj.
Self-likes	(47)	(173)	(71)	(17)	(42)	(19)
Self-dislikes	(44)	(138)	(55)	(10)	(40)	(17)
School likes	(45)	(146)	(70)	(16)	(43)	(19)
School dislikes	(43)	(114)	(49)	(12)	(38)	(17)

1/ The wording of these questions was given on Page 3

classroom. Thus, of the Puerto Rican children who were a minority in their classrooms among a Negro or white plurality or majority 51% mentioned at least two things about themselves that they liked best compared with 32% of the Puerto Rican children who were a majority in their classrooms. Of the "minority-Puerto Rican pupils" 30% mentioned at least two things they disliked most about themselves compared with 13% of the "majority Puerto Ricans." Of the former 65% mentioned at least two things they liked best about the school compared with 51% of the latter. And 19% of the former mentioned at least two things they disliked most about the school compared with 10% of the latter.

The same consistent pattern of greater expressiveness was found among the Negro children selected for assignment to classes in which they were a minority among the white or Puerto Rican majority.

Among the white children, however, the opposite pattern was found in replies to three of the four questions. A smaller proportion of those who were a minority in their classrooms gave at least two replies to the questions than of those who were in the classroom where they constituted a majority.

Classroom Composition and Occupational Horizons

Both in October and in June the children were asked, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" In view of

the age of the children in this study it would seem more accurate to regard their answers not as real occupational choices, but as indicators of the children's perceptions of themselves in relation to their social environment. Children who see themselves as possible professionals may have a wider, freer view of their social world and of themselves in relation to it than those who, even in wish fantasy do not rise above the constraints of their social milieu. We will call the children's replies to the question, their "occupational horizons" to avoid the connotation of commitment implicit in the term "occupational choice."

Both in October 1960 and in June 1961, the Puerto Rican children more often set their occupational horizons at the level of manual or white-collar work than did the Negro children or the white non-Puerto Rican children, while, on the other hand, the white children more often than the Negro and they more often than the Puerto Rican pupils mentioned occupations of a professional nature. Between the beginning and the end of the school year the Puerto Rican children appear to have lowered their occupational horizons while the other two ethnic groups did not. In Table 8, the proportion of Puerto Rican children who mentioned professional or semi-professional occupations declined from 63% to 55% while the proportion who mentioned white collar occupations rose from 12% to 22%. The other two ethnic groups scarcely changed at all.

Table 8

Ethnic Affiliation and Occupational Horizon

	October 1960			June 1961		
	Puerto-Rican	Negro	White Non-P.R.	Puerto-Rican	Negro	White-Non-P.R.
Professional) Semi-prof. &) Entrepreneur)	63%	73%	78%	55%	72%	79%
White collar	12	8	2	22	9	6
Skilled, semi-skilled; un-skilled	25	19	20	23	19	15
Total pupils	(226)	(134)	(55)	(226)	(121)	(66)

Our data show a tendency both at the beginning and again at the end of the school year for the occupational horizons of the children to be related to the social composition of the classroom. Table 9 gives the percentage of children in October 1960 and June 1961 who mentioned professional or semi-professional occupations according to whether their ethnic grouping was a minority of the classroom or a majority.

Table 9

Percentage Who Mentioned Professional or Semi-Professional Occupations by Ethnic Affiliation and Classroom Composition

	Puerto Rican		Negro		White non-Puerto Rican	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority
Oct. 1960	71	61	75	62	80	75
June 1961	56	54	75	60	75	89

At the beginning of the school year a relationship between classroom composition and occupational horizon was found to exist among each of the three ethnic groups analyzed separately but was strongest for the Negro and weakest for the white children. At the end of the school year, the following changes were found to have occurred.

a. The proportion of Puerto Rican children who mentioned professional occupations had declined: the proportion of Negro children on the other hand remained constant while the proportion of white children who mentioned professional occupations depended on whether they were a minority or a majority in the classroom. Classroom majority status led the white non-Puerto Ricans to raise their occupational horizons over the year while, if anything classroom-minority status led them to lower their horizons.

b. The significance of classroom composition as an influence on the occupational horizons of the Puerto Rican children diminished through the school year, remained constant for the Negro children and increased for the white non-Puerto Ricans.

IV

Likes and Dislikes

It was found possible to classify the self-satisfactions and self-dissatisfactions of the pupils in the limited number of categories listed in the following tables. These mentions refer either to characteristics which are learned or acquired by the child in response to social encouragement or social pressure and those which, on the other hand, are biologically

In the first category were included the pupil's satisfactions and dissatisfactions with his achievements, skills, and abilities. Included were motor and intellectual skills, emotional and personality traits, the quality of his relationship to parents, teachers, siblings, classmates and friends, references to his conduct, deportment, and neatness, cleanliness and dress. In the second category were included references to physical attributes (such as bodily shape, size, strength, weight, height; features such as eyes, ears, hair, teeth, body parts such as arms, hands, legs, feet, skin, fingernails, muscles), other native endowments (such as motor capacities, intellectual aptitudes and artistic aptitudes), social attributes not achieved by the child's own efforts, and sexual, racial and religious identities. In order to eliminate the influence of writing facility on our study of self-images, the coding of the types of likes and dislikes elicited in October was limited to the first mentioned like and dislike only. As mentioned previously the children were asked in June to select the salient self-like or dislike. The results of these operations are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 10

Self-Likes by Ethnic Affiliation
in October 1960 and June 1961

	October 1960			June 1961		
	P.R.	Ne.	Wh.n-P.R.	P.R.	Ne.	Wh.n-P.R.
Physical Attributes	37%	28%	28%	44%	27%	31%
Other non-modifiable	8	17	10	10	14	8
Achievements	48	50	50	44	57	56
Miscellaneous replies	7	5	12	2	2	5
Total	(223)	(132)	(60)	(219)	(122)	(64)
No answers	26	11	4	21	10	7

Table 11

Self-Dislikes by Ethnic Affiliation
in October 1960 and June 1961

	October 1960			June 1961		
	P.R	Ne.	Wh.n-P.R.	P.R.	Ne.	Wh.n-P.R.
Physical Attributes	35%	35%	24%	44%	28%	34%
Other non-modifiable	4	9	4	4	6	5
Achievements	48	49	60	47	59	55
Miscellaneous	13	7	12	5	7	6
Total	(180)	(106)	(58)	(205)	(119)	(65)
No answers	69	37	6	35	13	6

No sharp differences were found at either time between the Negroes, Puerto Ricans and white non-Puerto Ricans in the type of self-likes and dislikes first mentioned. The Puerto Rican children somewhat more often than the non-Puerto Rican whites mentioned a physical

characteristic in answer to both the question on self-likes and self-dislikes and on both occasions. The pattern of Negro self-likes resembled that of the non-Puerto Rican whites on both occasions rather than the Puerto Ricans. In self-dislikes, they resembled the Puerto Ricans more at the beginning of the school year and the non-Puerto Rican whites more at its end.

The pupils' first mentioned likes and dislikes about the school are classifiable under the subdivisions of "persons," "places," "activities," and "things." Under "persons" were included references to the principal, to teachers, to pupils and to the pupil monitors. Under "places" were included references to the classroom, gymnasium, auditorium, playground, hallways, the lunch-room and other places in the school building. "Activities" were subdivided into "intellectual" and "other" (motor, social). "Things" included references to the school as a building, to school facilities such as blackboards, desks, sinks and other furnishings and to equipment, books and the like.

Table 12

School likes and Dislikes
In October 1960 and June 1961

	October 1960		June 1961	
	Likes	Dislikes	Likes	Dislikes
Persons				
Teachers	19%	4%	23%	8%
Pupils	4	21	2	26
Places and Things	44	40	60	37
Activities	5	9	9	12
Miscellaneous and "Nothing"	7	26	6	17
Total	383	314	428	415

V

Teachers' Evaluations of Their Pupils

At the second administration of the questionnaire in June 1961, the fourth, fifth and sixth grade teachers were asked to evaluate each pupil by indicating whether the child was in the top -third, middle-third or bottom-third of his or her class in "achievement", in "effort" and in "conduct." Evaluations were obtained for the 449 pupils who were present on June 13, 1961. Logically, one-third of all the pupils in each classroom must be in the top-third, one-third in the middle, and one-third in the bottom of the class. We therefore know the extent to which their judgments, taken collectively,

The evaluations of the achievements of their pupils seem the most plausible of the three. They placed 32% of their pupils in the top-third of the class, 38% in the middle-third and 30% in the bottom-third, a quite reasonable distribution. That is not, of course, to say that the impressionistic estimate of each individual child would necessarily coincide with the rating of the child by more objective measures. It is the common situation in social and psychological research for different measures to rank the same individual differently. However, there is no obvious statistical distortion of the distribution of achievement ratings. It is otherwise with the teacher evaluations of the children with respect to "effort" and particularly with respect to "conduct." Twice as many teachers rated their pupils' level of effort in the upper third of the class as rated them in the lower-third, while three times as many rated their conduct in the upper-third of the class as rated it in the bottom-third. In other words, the teachers found it easiest to be objective about their pupils' level of accomplishment. They must, on the other hand, have given higher ratings than they deserved to 8% of the children in "effort" and to 20% in "conduct."

Table 13

Percent Who Indicated the Pupils Were in the Top, Middle or Bottom-Third of the Class with Respect To:

	Achievement	Effort	Conduct
Top Third	32%	41%	59%
Middle Third	38	38	30
Bottom Third	30	21	17
Total Cases	(449)	(447)	(447)

A pupil's level of achievement depends of course upon his effort and conduct. (The converse is also true.) We would expect teachers' judgements of their pupils' levels of achievement, effort and conduct to be highly correlated and the data do indeed establish such a relationship. We found, however, a stronger relationship between the teachers' judgments of their pupils' conduct and achievement than between their judgments of the pupils' effort and achievement. In Table 11, 44% of the best motivated children (top-third in effort) were also top-third in achievement while but 12% of the least motivated children were top-third in achievement. The difference between these percentages is 32%. Of the best-behaved pupils (top-third in conduct) 59% were top-third in achievement compared with 7% of the least-well behaved. The difference between these two percentages is 52%. This could mean that in classrooms graded according to the ability of the pupils it is not so much the amount of effort

that a pupil can put forth which determines his level of achievement as how well he gets along with his teacher and the other pupils in the classroom.

Table 14

Proportion Whom Teachers Judged to Be Top-Third in Achievement According to Their Level of Conduct and Effort.

	Top-Third	Middle-Third	Bottom-Third
Conduct	59%	18%	7%
Effort	44%	23%	12%

Classroom Composition and Pupil Ratings

In the following table the three social categories are subdivided according to whether the pupils were an ethnic majority in their classrooms or less than a numerical majority. Whether in the majority or not, roughly the same proportion of Puerto Rican children was rated top-third by their teachers: 30% compared with 27%. Among the Negro children, those who were a majority in their classroom were somewhat less likely to be top-third in achievement while considerably more likely to be bottom-third than if they were not. And finally, those white children in one classroom where whites were a majority were about evenly divided into top, middle- and bottom-third while the whites in predominantly Puerto Rican or Negro classrooms were disproportionately rated top-third in achievement: 35% compared with 49%.

Table 12
Relative Achievement Level of Puerto Rican, Negro and White Children by Classroom Composition

	Puerto Rican		Negroes		Whites	
Teacher Evaluation:	Majority	Less Than Majority	Majority	Less than Majority	Majority	Less than Majority
Top-third	30%	27%	26%	32%	35%	49%
Middle-third	39%	44%	22%	37%	35%	33%
Bottom-third	31%	29%	52%	31%	30%	18%
	(195)	(45)	(23)	(109)	(20)	(51)

The table raises questions of some importance. How objective are these evaluations? They are to be sure total, impressionistic ratings. However, they are based in most cases on a year's familiarity with the pupil. The teacher has, moreover, access to objective school records. It seems unlikely that, on the average, teachers would be far off in their placement of their pupils on such a gross scale of relative accomplishment in the classroom. A second question is the extent to which the pupils themselves share their teachers' evaluations of one another. Assuming that they do, the classroom-minority whites especially and the classroom-minority Negroes to a lesser extent would benefit from the integration in the sense of self-evaluation as better students while the Puerto Rican children must come off worse in the invidious comparison. These data, it must be emphasized, are only suggestive of the point; however they do suffice to point up the need for further exploration of the influence of classroom composition on teacher and self-evaluations.

Minority and majority classroom status has apparently an influence on the pupil's conduct as well as on his achievement level as, indeed we should expect it to, for classroom conduct and achievement are strongly correlated. Among each of the ethnic groups, the classroom-minority children were more often rated top third in conduct than the majority children. Among the Puerto Rican children the difference in favor of the minority-classroom children is 9%, among the Negro children 20% among the white children 17%.

Similar though smaller findings were obtained by analysis of the teachers' evaluations of the pupils' level of effort. The evidence of this correlation consists in the more frequent placement of classroom-majority children in the bottom-third of the class than the classroom-minority children. Among the Puerto Rican children the difference in favor of the class-room-minority pupils is 11%; among the Negroes 9%; among the white non-Puerto Ricans 9%.

VI

To sum up: In this particular school, Puerto Rican children make up the largest group , Negro children the second largest group, and white children the smallest group. In this social structure, classroom integration means, in effect, that both white and Negro children are usually a minority among a Puerto Rican majority. The teachers rate the white non-Puerto Rican pupils better scholars, on the average, than

the Negroes and the Negroes better scholars, on the average, than the Puerto Ricans. On the other hand the teachers do not make similar comparisons unfavorable to the Puerto Rican pupils with respect to effort or conduct. However, our study of classroom integration shows that the members of whichever ethnic group happens to be a minority in the classroom--whether Puerto Rican, Negro or white non-Puerto Rican--are evaluated higher than the members of that same ethnic group when they constitute the classroom majority. The pupils who are members of the classroom minority group are consistently rated better in scholarship, motivation, and behavior.

In this particular school, then, integration from the perspective of the classroom provides the white non-Puerto Rican children especially and the Negro children to a lesser extent with an opportunity to perceive their scholastic superiority over the Puerto Rican children. This finding, first obtained from the October data was made again in June on the basis of a different kind of evidence and in spite of turnover in the pupil population. The reliability of the finding is therefore enhanced.

We still are not, however, in a position to address ourselves to a question of far-reaching importance in democratic schooling: Does ethnic mixture in the classroom <u>necessarily</u> result in comparisons unfavorable to Puerto Rican or Negro children: that is

to culturally disadvantaged minority-group children? That question remains as a solid problem to which this exploratory study has pointed but which it has not resolved.

LIKES AND DISLIKES OF PUPILS IN AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL (P.S. 198M)

Interim Report

Harold Goldblatt
Research Unit

and

Cyril Tyson
Education Unit

Report No. 5

CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF NEW YORK
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A Statement of the Education Problem

The Supreme Court, in its attempt to render a decision in the Brown vs. Topeka case, contended with the plaintiff's accusation that segregated public schools were not equal and, in fact, could never be made equal. (We must remember that the doctrine of "separate but equal" derives from the Plessy vs. Ferguson case of 1896, and actually involved transportation and not education). The Court, in addition, considered findings which indicated that the Negro and white schools involved in the court action were in the process of being equalized with respect to curricula, teachers' salaries, qualifications, buildings and other "tangible factors."

It was this recognition of the attempt to equalize the schools on the part of the respondent and the plaintiff's contention that such equalization attempts could not result in "equality," which forced the Supreme Court to consider public education in the light of its real place in a democracy and its full responsibility to the citizens of our country.

The decision that children of the minority group were being deprived of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors were equal, was based, in part, on the testimony submitted by eminent psychologists. The testimony indicated that white and Negro children alike, suffer psychological damage from segregation. Thus, in referring to the role of education, the Court stated it was the principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, and in aiding his normal adjustment to the environment. Without such an opportunity it was doubtful a child could be expected to succeed.

It is to this phase of the Supreme Court's decision that we are addressing ourselves. A number of questions come to the surface as one examines the educational commitment necessary to "awaken cultural values" and to "aid in his normal adjustment to the environment."

--Does the physical integration of the Negro child in the white school, of itself, awaken all the children to cultural values? Will normal adjustment occur just because the children are in school together? Is the psychological damage alleviated because the Negro and white child are together?

--Are cultural values and environmental adjustment the products of a particular educational process? Is the acceptance of cultural values and the ability to adjust in the environment related to the child's view of himself and others?

--Are there other factors which affect the integration process?

The schools in the South were inferior by all educational standards, however, the major focus in the South was the physical desegregation of the schools. This has resulted in reports from the various communities that achievement levels of Negro children are, in general, on the rise and apparently the white child has not suffered academically.

In the North, and specifically in New York City, where physically integrated as well as "de facto" segregated schools have existed for some time, we are beginning to accept the challenge of integrating our white schools. There is less clarity on whether our previously integrated schools "awakened the child to cultural values" and "aided in his normal adjustment to the environment"; and in fact, whether this will occur in the schools to be integrated just because the Negro child sits side by side with the white child.

Education is a process of learning the skills and knowledge; and acquiring the proper attitudes and precepts necessary to live and subsist in the society. It transcends scholarship for its own sake, or for utilitarian purposes. It includes, in our time, the preparation necessary for living in the integrated society. We are not prepared to postulate that this ability to function in the integrated environment is acquired by the Negro or white child because they are placed in a spatial relation to each other, and without a particular educational program designated to stimulate this aspect of the learning process.

The self image study is designed to acquire knowledge of the effects of integration upon the self concepts of the children participating in the program, and to assess whether there is an increase or decrease in social distance. It is, hopefully, the first of a series of studies which will seek to uncover the consequences of integration from a social-psychological point of view and whether there are other variables which affect the integration process.

In a larger perspective, we ultimately are desirous of knowing whether the social-psychological adjustment of the children to their peers, and the integrated environment, correlates with the rise in achievement levels which apparently does occur, and whether a particular educational commitment is required to bring about adjustment to the integrated environment.

A Statement of the Research Problem

This research was undertaken to learn about the impact of school desegregation upon the self-concepts of children. We have been told by many distinguished social scientists that racial segregation had unfortunate consequences for the personality development of both white and non-white pupils. However, systematic data relating to this thesis appear to be new and it has been found desirable, from a programmatic point of view to obtain information in support, refutation, or amplification of the hypothesis. Should the data prove supportive, they would strengthen the case for school integration in the eyes of the total community; if not, they would inform us all of the price to be paid, temporarily perhaps, for the value of school desegregation. It might, however, well be the case that the consequences of open-enrollment include both debits and credits. In that case, we should have the basis for a reckoning and relative advantage and disadvantage.

THE DESIGN

A design was agreed upon with the Bureau of Educational Research and Statistics of the Board of Education which would make possible a study of change in the self-concepts of pupils in an integrated school by obtaining about each child in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades information as to his self-likes and dislikes before and after spending a school year in a mixed environment. A short, self-administered essay-type questionnaire was chosen as most suitable because there has been little experience with the administration of formal questionnaires to school children of this age group, even granting one knew what to ask and how best to ask it. Limitations of expense and personnel also precluded gathering data by personal interview. Of the five questions chosen for this exploratory study, the basic two were taken in modified form from Jersild's study "In Search of Self." 1/ These questions as asked were, "What do you like the best about yourself?" To these was added a question to elicit occupational aspirations, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" Finally, because both the school as well as the experience of integration was new, we asked about the pupils' school likes and dislikes: "What do you like the best about this school?" and "What do you like the least about this school?"

Public School 198 is a sixth-grade elementary school located at Third Avenue and 96th Street, Manhattan. It is a new school opened firs

1/ Arthur T. Jersild, In Search of Self, An Exploration of the Role of the School in Promoting Self-Understanding, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

in May of 1960. The school is modernistic in design, of pastel colored brickwork and large, multi-colored glass panes. If one may so describe it, it is an attractive, friendly, cheerful looking building. It is attended by both boys and girls, Puerto Rican and Negro children from Harlem and white children, some transferred from Public School 6, some from P.S. 86.

This school was chosen for research for programmatic reasons: it has been the object of community and newspaper discussion as its opening caused a re-zoning of the area. The details of the re-zoning had been contested by parents whose children attended a so-called silk-stocking school. These parents may or may not have objected to the re-zoning for reasons of race prejudice; their contention is that the quality of education their children would receive in Public School 198 could not match that given by Public School 6 and that their objection to the transfer of their children was motivated more by the "educational" than by "racial" consideration.

Many educators believe that the implied antithesis between educational values on the one hand and racial equalitarian values on the other falsely states the real issues. They contend that education of the white child means education for social competence as well as technical competence. An educational regimen which fails to educate the child for social competence -- that is, for learning to relate to minority group children as individuals fails to equip the child for adult functions in the world of a generation hence; likewise, minority group children, too, must learn to relate to the dominant majority, in productive non-resentful ways.

At the time of the study, classes had been open for several weeks; many of these pupils had been attending this school since May preceding the summer vacation. Some of the white pupils, however, were transferred here only following the summer vacation and were new to the other pupils. The questionnaires were administered by the classroom teachers as an ordinary lesson assignment in English composition rather than in the context of a test which might require of them "right" answers and arouse anxieties lest their answers be "wrong." All the classrooms devoted the same half-hour of the day to this task to prevent pupils from discussing the assignment with others who had not yet been exposed to it. The principal undertook to acquaint the teachers with the task at a faculty meeting. For ease of processing the materials, the questionnaires were multilithed on legal-size sheets with three questions to one side, two on the other. The sheets were lined so that the pupils might write their answers to each question directly under the question. They were asked to give their names, class number and grade number. At the end of the questionnaire was a series of initials for use of the teacher who circled the appropriate initial, P.N.W.C.J., to indicate Puerto Rican, Negro, White, Chinese, Japanese, according to the ethnic characteristic of the child. The teacher was not asked to distinguish between white and Negro Puerto-Rican children.

The questionnaires were completed in mid-October, 1960; the second administration is planned for as late in the school year as possible. At that time a similar questionnaire will be administered to the fourth and sixth grade pupils who completed it the first time. For the fifth grade children, however, a revised questionnaire has been drafted which will receive its tryout in this school for a proposed use in an extended study beginning with open enrollment in the Fall of 1961. This draft is included as Appendix 1.

PLAN OF ANALYSIS

The plan of analysis will be to compare the answers of each pupil on the two questionnaires as to number and types of self-likes and dislikes, school likes and dislikes. Have there been demonstrable changes in the pupils' self-image? If so, to what extent are they due to school "integration?" This raises two problems. The term "integration" usually refers to the inter-relationship of whites and Negroes. In the present research situation, the white children have been integrated into a Puerto Rican and Negro school rather than the Negroes integrated into a white school. The second problem is the lack of so-called control. Again, it is customary to think of "integration" as an attribute of a total school and to design a study to compare an all-white, an all-non-white and a mixed school. How then can we study the consequences of integration when we have only one school? The answer to this is that integration is better studied as an attribute of the classroom than of the total school. Without minimizing the symbolic significance of school desegregation, the prolonged contact of different types of children which bring about "integration" must take place mainly through participation in class activities. The class is the school's "primary group." Now we are able to classify classrooms according to their ethnic composition and to study changes in pupil self-concept in relation to the make-up of the classroom. We shall ask whether the more heterogeneous classrooms do or do not bring greater changes than the more homogeneous classrooms.

ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OCCUPATIONAL HORIZONS

For the school as a whole, 53% of the pupils mentioned occupations of a professional nature in answer to the question, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" Fifteen percent mentioned semi-professional, 10% white-collar and 22% skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled occupations. 1/

1/ Among professional occupations were such choices as the medical professions (doctor, nurse), the legal (judge, lawyer), the technical (architect, engineer), the liberal (astronomer, scientist, teacher, musician, clergyman, nun, writer, poet, newspaperman), the military (army, air-force and neval officer), and the psychological (social worker).

Among the semi-professional occupations were the performing arts such as movie star, actor, actress, pianist, singer, dancer, ballerina, acrobat, baseball player or other athlete, the graphic arts such as artists, cartoonists, commercial artist, and miscellaneous semi-professionals as jet pilot.

The white collar category included clerical and sales occupations.

One pupil only chose an entrepreneurial occupation which has been classified in the semi-professional category.

TABLE 1

ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

	Puerto Rican		Negro		White		Oriental
Professional	49%	63%	59%	73%	60%	78%	
Semi-Professional	14		14		18		(3)
White Collar	12		8		2		
Policeman or Fireman	15		11		9		
Other skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled	10		8		11		
TOTAL = 100%	(226)		(134)		(55)		(3)

Table 1 indicates that the Puerto Rican children more often set their occupational aspirations at the level of white collar work or mentioned policeman or fireman as their choice than did the Negro children, and they more often than the white children, while on the other hand, the white children more often than the Negro and they more often than the Puerto Rican pupils mentioned occupations of a professional nature. The differences are not large although consistent with common expectation.

We would expect, of course, that the higher the pupil's achievement level, the higher his occupational aspiration since an individual's level of aspiration typically rises with success at goal attainment while it falls with failure. Does the finding reported in Table 1 reflect, then, ethnic differentials in scholarship? Are the white pupils abler scholastically, on the average, than the Negro and they than the Puerto Rican and <u>therefore</u> more likely to have professional choices in mind? Or, is there an ethnic differential over and above the influence of scholarship on occupational choice? The question is answered in Table 2 in support of the latter alternative. To obtain this table, we counted the variety of mistakes each pupil made in answering the first question. The variety included possible errors in legibility, spelling, sentence construction, punctuation, capitalization and grammatical use of tense. The number of errors a child might make would vary therefore from zero to six for mistakes of the same type were counted but once. Now we find that Puerto Rican children made more mistakes on the average than the others, as is to be expected. But the important finding is that the ethnic affiliation of the children is related to occupational preferences apart from the pupil's scholastic level. In Table 2, the children are classified by the number

of different types of mistakes they made in answer to Question One: no mistakes, one mistake, two or more mistakes. Within each of these groups a larger proportion of Negro children than Puerto Rican children and likewise, a larger proportion of white children than Negro, mentioned professional occupations.

Table 2

PROPORTION OF PUPILS WHO CHOSE PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND NUMBER OF WRITING ERRORS IN ANSWER TO QUESTION ONE

Number of errors:	None	1	2 or more
Puerto Rican	74% (27)	70% (73)	55% (120)
Negro	78% (27)	74% (42)	71% (62)
White	86% (14)	78% (23)	76% (17)

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM

Of the total of 459 children in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades, 54% were classified by their teachers as Puerto Rican, 31% as Negro, 14% as white, and 1% as Oriental. The ethnic composition of these three grades (Table 3) indicates that the two minority groups were about evenly distributed through the grades while the white children were disproportionately 5th graders.

Table 3

ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION BY GRADE

Grade:	Puerto Rican	Negro	White	Other	TOTAL
Fourth	36%	34%	20%	(1)	33%
Fifth	29	29	51	(1)	32
Sixth	35	37	29	(2)	35
TOTAl PUPILS	(247)	(143)	(65)	(4)	(459)

While the majority of pupils in the school as a whole were Puerto Rican, this was not necessarily true of each classroom. Puerto Rican children were a minority among Negro children in some classrooms just as Negro children were a minority among Puerto Rican children in others. White children were in the minority in all classrooms but one. The distribution of children in the classrooms is given in Table 4. The distribution of children in the classrooms is given in Table 4. The white children being the smallest minority in the school, were more often present in the classroom singly, in pairs, threes, fours, or fives while the Puerto Rican children were present in classroom groups intermediate in size. (The mean class size was found to be 27; the range 23 to 32). Of the total of 17 classes, Puerto Rican children were in the majority in one classroom each. It would be more accurate then to describe the situation in the school as one in which the white and Oriental have been integrated among Puerto Rican and Negro children than the reverse.

Table 4

NUMBER OF CLASSROOMS WITH PUPILS PRESENT IN NUMBERS INDICATED

Number of children in the classroom	Puerto Rican	Negro	White	Oriental
None			2	
1			5	4
2			3	
3-5		5	3	
6-10	6	5	3	
11-15	1	7		
16 or more	10		1	
TOTAL OF CLASSES	17	17	17	4

Table 5

NUMBER OF CLASSROOMS WITH PUPILS PRESENT IN PROPORTIONS INDICATED

Percentage of children in the classroom	Puerto Rican	Negro	White	Oriental
None			2	
1-9			8	4
10-29	4	8	4	
30-49	2	8	2	
50% or more	11	1	1	
TOTAL NUMBER OF CLASSES	(17)	(17)	(17)	(4)

As indicated above, some classrooms had relatively more of one ethnic group, some of another. Each child was classified according to whether his ethnic affiliation was the majority or was a minority group in the classroom. We have found that the frequency of expression both of satisfactions and dissatisfactions with self and with school is related to the minority or majority classroom membership of the child. The Puerto Rican and the Negro children who were minorities in their classrooms expressed more satisfactions and more dissatisfactions than those in classrooms where they were majorities. This suggests that the more self-expressive minority group children were more likely to have been assigned to integration than the less expressive. But whether the white children were in the minority in their classroom (as most of the white children were) or whether they were in the one classroom where they were the majority, was not related to self-expressiveness in the same way. If anything, the "integrated" white children were less self-expressive than the white children in the majority classroom.

We also appear to have found a tendency for the occupational aspirations of the children to be higher among those who were a minority in their classroom than among those who were a majority; for a higher proportion of classroom-minority children mentioned professional or semi-professional occupations in response to Question One than classroom-plurality children, while a still smaller proportion of classroom-majority children mentioned occupations on this level.

We have found that this relationship between integration and aspiration exists among each of the ethnic groups analyzed separately, but is strongest for the Negro and weakest for the white children. It is an interpretive problem whether to regard the relationship as desirable. Those who believe that professional aspiration represents an occupational orientation higher than ordinarily found among minority group children might hold this finding a "positive" one; those who believe unlikely to posess the economic and social qualifications necessary for realization might, on the contrary, consider it to be negative. In view of the age of the children involved, it would seem more accurate to regard those occupational methods less as commitments to real occupational merely cognitive perceptions of the child's social environment. We are suggesting that children who see themselves as possible professionals may have a wider, freer view of their social world and of themselves in relation to it than those who, even in wish-fantasy, do not rise above the constraints of their social milieu.

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Table 6

CLASSROOM INTEGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE
BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION

	PUERTO RICAN		NEGROES			WHITES	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Plurality	Majority	Minority	Majority
Professional, Semi-professional, Entrepreneurial, and Managerial	71%	61%	77%	71%	62%	80%	75%
White Collar	16	12	4	18	0	0	6
Blue Collar	13	27	19	11	38	20	19
Policeman and Fireman	4.3	18	11	5	32	10	7
Others:							
Skilled.	4.3	3	1	1	0	5.0	0
Semi-skilled . . .	4.3	4	3	5	0	2.5	6
Unskilled.	0	2	4	0	6	2.5	6
TOTAL - 100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
TOTAL PUPILS	45	181	74	44	16	39	16

ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND NUMBER OF RESPONSES

Since children vary greatly in writing facility, the number of self and school-likes recorded by them in answer to essay type questions would reflect their ability at self-expression as well as their underlying levels of self and school satisfaction and dissatisfaction. We therefore counted the number of self- and school-likes and dislikes mentioned by each of the pupils. These four numbers per pupil are presented in the following series of tables separately for each ethnic group. Table 7-a shows the difference ethnic affiliation makes in the number of self-satisfactions mentioned by each pupil; 7-b, the relation of the ethnic affiliation to self-dissatisfactions; 7-c, the relation to school satisfactions and 7-d, the relation to school dissatisfactions.

In each of these areas, the Negro pupils mentioned more things than did the Puerto Rican pupils and the white children more than did the Negro.

Such a series of relationships would follow from the correlation of ethnic affiliation and writing facility since many of the Puerto Rican pupils were handicapped by language difficulties 1/while the average Negro pupil was handicapped relative to the white by lower socio-economic status.

There nevertheless appears to be more to the correlation than differences in writing facility.

1. Among each of the ethnic groups, the children mentioned more self-satisfactions than self-dissatisfactions.

2. Among each of the ethnic groups, the children mentioned more school satisfactions than dissatisfactions.

3. Among each of the ethnic groups, the children mentioned more things they liked about their school than they liked about themselves; and consistently, they mentioned fewer school dislikes than self-dislikes.

Table 7-a

NUMBER OF SELF-LIKES OF PUPILS BY ETHNIC PROPORTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Number of Self-Likes	PUERTO RICAN		NEGROES		WHITES	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority
Two or more	51%	32%	44%	0%	62%	58%
One	47	66	54	94	36	42
None	2	2	2	6	2	0
No. of Pupils	(47)	(173)	(71)	(17)	(42)	(19)

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1/ In each of these tabulations the answers of pupils who did not answer the question or answered illegibly or unintelligibly are omitted.

Table 7-b

NUMBER OF SELF-DISLIKES OF PUPILS BY ETHNIC PROPORTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Number of Self-Dislikes	PUERTO RICAN		NEGROES		WHITES	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority
Two of more	30%	13%	20%	0%	20%	35%
One	54	79	76	100	70	65
None	16	8	4	0	10	0
No. of Pupils	(44)	(138)	(55)	(10)	(40)	(17)

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Table 7-c

NUMBER OF SCHOOL-LIKES OF PUPILS BY ETHNIC PROPORTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Number of School Likes	PUERTO RICAN		NEGRO		WHITE	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority
Two or more	65%	51%	46%	13%	63%	74%
One	33	47	51	81	37	26
None	2	2	3	6	0	0
No. of Pupils	(45)	(146)	(70)	(16)	(43)	(19)

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Table 7-d

NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISLIKES OF PUPILS BY ETHNIC PROPORTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Number of School Dislikes	PUERTO RICAN		NEGRO		WHITE	
	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority	Minority	Majority
Two or more	19%	10%	10%	0%	11%	35%
One	58	80	81	100	68	47
None	23	10	9	0	21	18
No. of Pupils	(43)	(114)	(49)	(12)	(38)	(17)

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TYPES OF SELF-LIKES AND SELF-DISLIKES

As is common on essay type questions, the variety of answers was very large. We have found it possible to classify the self-satisfactions and self-dissatisfactions of the pupils in a limited number of categories listed in the following table. These mentions refer either to characteristics which are learned or unlearned by the child in response to social encouragement or social pressure and those which, on the other hand, are biologically or socially "given" and are not modifiable by the pupil's own efforts.

In the first category we have included the pupil's satisfactions and dissatisfactions with his achievements, skills, and abilities. These include motor and intellectual skills, emotional and personality traits, the quality of his relationship to parents, teachers, siblings, classmates and friends, appearance such as neatness, cleanliness and dress. In the second category we have included references to physical attributes (such as bodily shape, body parts such as arms, hands, legs, feet, skin, fingernails, muscles), other native endowments (such as motor capacities, intellectual aptitudes and artistic aptitudes), social attributes not achieved by the child's own efforts, and sexual, racial and religious identities. In order to eliminate the influence of writing facility on our study of self-images, the coding of types of likes and dislikes was limited to the first mentioned like and dislike only. To avoid the repetition of the cumbersome phrase "first-mentioned like" and "first-mentioned dislike", we will write only of the pupil's self-like, self-dislike, school-like and school-dislike. Table 8 below summarizes the distribution of the first-mentioned self-like and dislike for all the pupils in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades.

Table 8

FIRST-MENTIONED SELF-LIKES AND DISLIKES

	Self-Like	Self-Dislike
Physical attributes	32%	33%
Other unmodifiable attributes	12	6
Achievements, skills, abilities	49	51
Miscellaneous	4	4
Everything	2	1
Nothing	1	5
TOTAL	(420)	(347)
No answers and illegible answers	39	112

No sharp differences were found between the Negroes, Puerto Ricans and whites in the type of self-likes and dislikes first mentioned. The Puerto Rican children somewhat more often than the white mentioned a physical characteristic in answer to both the question on self-likes and self-dislikes. The distribution of mentions of self-likes by the Negro children resembled that for the whites; while the distribution of mentions of self-dislikes by the Negro children resembled that of the Puerto Ricans.

Table 9

ETHNIC AFFILIATION, SELF-LIKES AND SELF-DISLIKES

	Self-Likes			Self-Dislikes		
	Puerto Rican	Negro	White	Puerto Rican	Negro	White
Physical Attributes	37%	28%	28%	35%	35%	24%
Unmodifiable attributes other than physical	8	17	10	4	9	4
Achievements, skills, abilities	48	50	50	48	49	60
Miscellaneous	3	4	10	6	3	3
Everything	3	1	2	2	0	0
Nothing	1	0	0	5	4	9
TOTAL	223	132	60	180	106	58
No answers (and illegible answers)	26	11	4	69	37	6

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Table 10 presents a detailed breakdown of the references to physical characteristics by the ethnic affiliation of the pupil. It will be noted that Negro children mentioned "hair" as a dislike more often than as a like while the opposite was true of the Puerto Rican children. (The number of white children is too small for valid comparison; therefore their answers were not percentaged.)

TABLE 10

REFERENCES TO PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS

(First mentions only)

Specific reference	PUERTO RICANS		NEGROES		WHITES	
	Likes	Dislikes	Likes	Dislikes	Likes	Dislikes
Hair	42%	16	24%	36%	(5)	(5)
Eyes	17	13	16	3	(5)	(1)
Other facial references	9	13	14	27	(2)	(0)
Arms, legs, hands, feet	9	34	16	21	(1)	(5)
Body, shape ,size, etc.	10	15	14	5	(4)	(3)
All other physical references	13	9	16	8	(0)	(0)
TOTAL PUPILS	(83)	(62)	(37)	(37)	(17)	(14)

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TYPES OF SCHOOL LIKES AND DISLIKES

The pupils' first-mentioned likes and dislikes about the school are classifiable under the subdivisions of "persons," "places," "activities," and "things." Under persons were included references to the principal, to teachers, to pupils and to the pupil monitors. Under places were included references to the classroom, gymnasium, auditorium, playground, hallways, the lunchroom and other places in the school building. "Activities" were subdivided into "intellectual" and "other" (motor, social). "Things" included references to the school as a building, to school facilities such as blackboards, desks, sinks and other furnishings and to equipment, books and the like.

TABLE 11

SCHOOL LIKES AND DISLIKES

	School Likes	School Dislikes
Persons		
Principal, Teachers	19%	4%
Pupils	4	21
Places		
Gymnasium	13	2
Auditorium	3	1
Classroom	10	3
Lunchroom	1	2
Hallways; stairways	1	2
Playground	*	4
Elsewhere	4	4
Activities		
Intellectual	5	8
Other	*	1
Things		
School Building	22	4
Classroom facilities	6	11
Other facilities	4	7
Miscellaneous	5	11
Everything	2	2
Nothing	0	13
TOTAL	383	314

*Fewer than 1/2 of 1%

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. For the school as a whole, the ethnic compostion of the 4th, 5th and 6th grades was 54% Puerto Rican, 31% Negro, 14% white, and 1% Oriental.

2. Of the total of 17 classes, Puerto Rican children were in the majority in 11; Negro and white children were in the majority in one classroom each.

3. Sixty-three percent of the Puerto Rican children mentioned professional or semi-professional occupations in answer to the question, "What would you like to be when you grow up?" while the corresponding percentage for the Negro children was 73% and for the white pupils 78%.

4. The proportion of children who mentioned professional occupations was inversely related to the number of writing errors in answer to Question 1. But this measure of scholarship held constant, ethnic differences are still a factor.

5. Occupational aspirations of the children tended to be higher among those who were a minority in their classroom than among those who were a majority. This relationship was found to exist among each of the ethnic groups analyzed separately but was strongest for the Negro and weakest for the white children.

6. Among each of the ethnic groups, a) the children mentioned more self-satisfactions than self-dissatisfactions; b) the children mentioned more school satisfactions than dissatisfactions; c) the children mentioned more things they liked about their school than they liked about themselves and also mentioned fewer school dislikes than self-dislikes.

7. No sharp differences were found between the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and whites in the type of self-likes and dislikes first mentioned. However, among those who mentioned a physical characteristic, satisfied references to "hair" were relatively more frequent among Puerto Ricans than among Negroes; also, dissatisfied references to "hair" were relatively more frequent among Negroes than satisfied references.

8. School likes and dislikes were classified as references to persons, places, activities and things. The principal and teachers were frequently mentioned among the school likes while infrequently mentioned among the school dislikes; on the other hand, the pupils were infrequently mentioned among the school likes while frequently mentioned among the school dislikes.

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